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B6, B1, 1.4(D)

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INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-08	ACDE-00	ACQ-01	DOEE-00	SRPP-00	DS-00
	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-00	L-01	ADS-00	NSAE-00
	NSCE-00	OMB-01	OPIC-01	PA-00	PM-00	PRS-00	P-00
	SP-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRM-01
	DRL-04	G-00	NFAT-00	SAS-00	/019W		

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R 062024Z JUL 98
FM AMEMBASSY CARACAS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1070
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY QUITO
USINT HAVANA
CIA WASHDC
DIA WASHDC
SECDEF WASHDC
USCINCSO MIAMI FL

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 CARACAS 002047

E.O. 12958: DECL: 06/30/08
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, VE
SUBJECT: TAKING A LOOK AT THE MARXIST THEORIST BEHIND CHAVEZ
CAMPAIGN STRATEGY

CLASSIFIED BY REASON:
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1.5 (D).

SUMMARY

1. (U) CLASS WARFARE, HOSTILITY TOWARDS FORMAL INSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT, AND A FAVORABLE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE 1992 COUP ATTEMPTS CHARACTERIZE THE ACADEMIC WRITINGS OF J.R. NUNEZ TENORIO, CLOSE POLITICAL ADVISOR TO PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE HUGO CHAVEZ. NUNEZ TENORIO IS A PROFESSOR OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: OSCAR J OLSON
CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(D)
DECLASSIFY AFTER: 6 JUL 2013
DATE/CASE ID: 16 JUL 2009 200503654

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SCIENCE AT THE CENTRAL UNIVERSITY OF VENEZUELA IN CARACAS, WHICH PUBLISHED NUNEZ TENORIO'S MANIFESTO, "STRATEGY AND TACTICS: HOW TO DO IT? AND WHAT IS THE WAY OUT?" HE CLAIMS THAT VENEZUELA'S DEMOCRACY HAS BEEN CORRUPT SINCE INCEPTION. HIS PAPER DESCRIBES HOW TO CONDUCT A VENEZUELAN SOCIALIST REVOLUTION, TO WHICH HE REFERS AS "THE FIGHT" OR "THE MOVEMENT." THIS PUBLICATION OFFERS INSIGHT INTO THE FOUNDATIONS OF VENEZUELA'S LEADING CANDIDATE AND PARTY. END SUMMARY.

THE ENEMY ACCORDING TO NUNEZ TENORIO

2. (U) J.R. NUNEZ TENORIO, WELL-KNOWN MARXIST THEORIST FROM THE CENTRAL UNIVERSITY OF VENEZUELA AND A KEY CHAVEZ ADVISOR, PUBLISHED IN 1997 A MANIFESTO ENTITLED "STRATEGY AND TACTICS: HOW TO DO IT? AND WHAT IS THE WAY OUT?" THIS MANIFESTO HAS BECOME REQUIRED READING AMONG CHAVEZ WATCHERS, AND PROVIDES INSIGHT INTO THE THINKING OF RADICAL LEFTISTS WHO HAVE COALESCED AROUND CHAVEZ.

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3. (U) NUNEZ TENORIO'S WORK PRESENTS THE BACKGROUND THEORY FOR A SOCIAL MOVEMENT AGAINST "THE ENEMY," WHICH HE DESCRIBES AS:

- "CORRUPT" AND "NEOLIBERAL" GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACY;
- LEGISLATURE, EXECUTIVE, AND JUDICIAL BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT;
- THE "POLITICAL-FINANCIERS" CLIQUE OF THE "FRAUDULENT" DEMOCRACY;
- THE IMPORTER-MERCHANT CLASS;
- BANKERS, VENEZUELA'S BOURGEOIS, AND "MONOPOLISTIC" CLASS;
- "NORTH AMERICAN IMPERIALISM" AND CAPITALISM;
- BIPARTISANISM

4. (U) ACKNOWLEDGING THE WORKS OF MARX, LENIN, AND OTHERS AS IMPORTANT FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT, HE OUTLINES TRADITIONAL SOCIALIST IDEOLOGY, INCLUDING: THE DIALECTIC OF OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE REALITY, THE SYNTHESIS OF HISTORICAL STAGES INFLUENCED BY REVOLUTION, CLASS STRUGGLE, AND STATE-OPPOSITION STRUGGLE. WHILE ACCEPTING MOST OF THE THEORETICAL

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BASIS OF SOCIALISM, NUNEZ TENORIO CRITICIZES PAST MOVEMENTS' ORGANIZATIONAL OVERSIGHTS. HE SEES THE VIETNAMESE AS THE MOST RELEVANT EXAMPLE FOR VENEZUELAN SOCIALISTS, BUT ASSERTS THAT VENEZUELA NEEDS TO ADAPT SOCIALISM TO ITS OWN SPECIFIC NEEDS. HE CRITICIZES LENINIST "BUREAUCRATIC CENTRALISM," WHICH HE EQUATES WITH TOTALITARIANISM AND AUTHORITARIANISM, AS A SYSTEM INCAPABLE

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OF GAINING MASS SUPPORT. HE ALSO CRITICIZES FORMS OF MASS POLITICAL EXPRESSION (SUCH AS THE 1989 SOCIAL UPRISING IN CARACAS) AMOUNTING TO ANARCHY, WHICH HE FINDS "PRIMITIVE" AND DISORGANIZED. HE DOES NOT THINK DEMOCRACY IS SUCCESSFUL UNLESS THE PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVES CAN BE UNIFIED IN "PATRIOTISM," AND ASSERTS THAT NEITHER AUTHORITARIANISM NOR LIBERALISM IS APPROPRIATE FOR VENEZUELAN DEMOCRACY.

CALL FOR ACTION

5. (U) NUNEZ TENORIO BELIEVES THE WORKING CLASS IS THE MOST IMPORTANT FORCE AGAINST THE "ENEMY." HOWEVER, HE SEES THE WORKING CLASS AS DIVIDED AND NOT SUFFICIENTLY LINKED TO ITS "NATURAL ALLIES," WHICH HE DESCRIBES AS STUDENTS, YOUTH, CLERICS, SMALL BUSINESSMEN, SMALL TO MEDIUM SIZE FARMERS, FIELD WORKERS, AND INTELLECTUALS.

6. (U) NUNEZ TENORIO DOES NOT PROPOSE A SPECIFIC POLITICAL AGENDA OR PLATFORM, BUT EXPLAINS HOW TO CREATE ONE THAT IS UNIFIED AND POPULAR ("DEMOCRATIC"). BY ORGANIZING THE DIVERSE

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	SP-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRM-01
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 CARACAS 002047

E.O. 12958: DECL: 06/30/08
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, VE
SUBJECT: TAKING A LOOK AT THE MARXIST THEORIST BEHIND CHAVEZ
CAMPAIGN STRATEGY

INTERESTS OF DIFFERENT SOCIAL MASSES OUTSIDE OF TRADITIONAL
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POLITICAL PARTY STRUCTURES, THE MOVEMENT CAN TRANSFORM CIVIL
SOCIETY'S STRUCTURE, OFFERING A "THIRD DEMOCRATIC OPTION." HE
COMPLIMENTS THE 1989 SOCIAL UNREST AND 1992 ATTEMPTED COUPS FOR
RAISING PUBLIC CONSCIOUSNESS AND SHOWING THE PATRIOTIC SENTIMENTS
OF THE ARMED FORCES. HIS MAIN PROBLEM WITH THESE ACTIONS WAS THE
INEFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP AGAINST "THE ENEMY'S" WEAKNESSES, DESPITE
WHAT HE CONSIDERS NATION-WIDE POPULAR SUPPORT AGAINST THE
GOVERNMENT.

7. (U) ONE OF NUNEZ TENORIO'S PRINCIPAL CONCERNS IS HOW TO
EXPAND THE "MOVEMENT" BEYOND THE CURRENT CORE GROUP ("REVOLUTION
NUCLEUS) OF INTELLECTUALS. HE SAYS AN EFFECTIVE VANGUARD SETS
ITS POLITICAL AGENDA BY ADHERING TO THE MAXIM: "TO LEARN FROM
THE PEOPLE IN ORDER TO TEACH THE PEOPLE." THE STRATEGY IS THE
REVOLUTION, AND THE TACTIC IS THE BRINGING DOWN OF THE GOVERNMENT
TO BUILD A "POPULAR, PATRIOTIC, AND PROGRESSIVE" DEMOCRACY. THE
"ENEMY" IS RESPONSIBLE FOR ALL OF VENEZUELA'S HARDSHIPS. HE
MENTIONS SUBSTANTIVE POLICY CONCERNS ONLY GENERALLY, SUCH AS
EMPLOYMENT, RISING WAGES, AND ENDING INFLATION. HIS FOCUS IS
MAINLY ON ORGANIZATION OF THE REVOLUTION, CONSISTING OF A
LEADERSHIP DIRECTIVE, A BODY OF ALLIANCES, AND INTERACTION WITH
THE PEOPLE AT LARGE. HE ASSERTS THAT THE MOVEMENT'S ORGANIZATION
CANNOT FUNCTION IF RIGID, MECHANICAL, AND EXECUTIVE. IT MUST BE
CONSCIOUS OF ITS ACTIONS AND POLICY JUSTIFICATIONS. EACH MEMBER
SHOULD BE ALLOWED INDIVIDUAL THOUGHT TO FACILITATE CREATIVE AND

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ADAPTIVE IDEAS; HE CONSIDERS THIS A SIGN OF REVOLUTION AND INDEPENDENCE. MEMBERS MUST FEEL FREE TO DISCUSS DIVERSE OPINIONS OPENLY.

IMPLICATIONS: ANTI-U.S. SENTIMENTS
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8. (U) NUNEZ TENORIO'S MANIFESTO IS CONCERNED WITH A "NATIONAL REVOLUTION" AND DOES NOT FOCUS ON REVOLUTION BEYOND VENEZUELA. HOWEVER, HE ACKNOWLEDGES THE ESSENTIAL NEED FOR A CONTINUING GLOBAL POLITICAL-IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AGAINST CAPITALISM. HE IS NOT DIRECTLY CONCERNED WITH BUILDING A POLITICAL PARTY, ALTHOUGH THE STRATEGIES ARE APPLICABLE TO ELECTORAL POLITICS. HIS PRIMARY OBJECTIVE IS TO ADVANCE A SOCIAL AND POLITICAL MOVEMENT AGAINST THE STATUS QUO. DESPITE EMPHASIZING THE NEED FOR LEADERS TO INCORPORATE PUBLIC OPINIONS INTO THEIR POLITICAL LINE, HE DOES NOT HAVE A DIRECT ROLE FOR NON-MEMBERS OF "THE VANGUARD" IN LEADING THE PARTY. HE DOES NOT DISCUSS ELECTORAL POLITICS AS AN EFFECTIVE WAY OF CONDUCTING POLICY OR SELECTING LEADERS. DESPITE HIS ADMIRATION OF STRUCTURED AND FORCEFUL POLITICAL APPARATUS, THIS PUBLICATION DOES NOT FIND ARMED FORCE NECESSARILY ESSENTIAL TO "DESTROY" THE ENEMIES.

9. (U) HE CLEARLY STATES THAT THE U.S. IS A THREAT TO AN INTERNATIONAL ORDER OF INDEPENDENT AND EQUAL STATES, AS WELL AS A "PROTOTYPICAL" CAPITALIST EXPLOITER OF LABOR. HE SEES U.S. IMPERIALISM AND INFLUENCE AS COMPROMISING THE NATIONS OF ASIA, AFRICA, EASTERN EUROPE AND LATIN AMERICA COLLECTIVELY. THE UNITED NATIONS IS ALSO GUILTY OF PROMOTING A U.S.-DOMINATED WORLD, AND DOES NOT REPRESENT THE TRUE CONSTITUENCY OF THE WORLD'S NATIONS. NUNEZ TENORIO SEES SOUTHERN NATIONS AS PARTNERS, AND ENCOURAGES A WORLD DIALOGUE AGAINST U.S. IMPERIALISM AND CAPITALISM, OUTSIDE OF THE U.N. FORUM. HE ADVOCATES DISARMAMENT AND REMOVAL OF FOREIGN MILITARY BASES, ESPECIALLY THOSE OF THE U.S.

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10. (C) NUNEZ TENORIO'S REVOLUTIONARY TRAJECTORY BEGAN WITH HIS PARTICIPATION IN THE GUERRILLA INSURRECTION OF THE EARLY 1960S. HIS WORK AT THE UNIVERSITY HAS SINCE MADE HIM A LEADING VENEZUELAN FIGURE IN MARXIST THEORY. HIS MANIFESTO "STRATEGY AND TACTICS" WAS WRITTEN BEFORE HE JOINED THE CHAVEZ CAMPAIGN. [REDACTED]

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HOWEVER, IT DOES REFLECT THE RADICAL LEFT'S APPROACH TO POWER AND GOVERNMENT. THIS APPROACH VIEWS DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL ACTIVITY, SUCH AS ELECTIONS, AS A TACTIC TO BE USED TOWARD THE BROADER STRATEGIC GOAL OF SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

11. (C) IN A RECENT INTERVIEW WITH A NATIONAL PUBLICATION, "PRIMICIA," NUNEZ TENORIO UNDERScoreD THIS CONCEPTION OF DEMOCRACY WHEN HE NOTED THAT ALL GOVERNMENT IS BY NATURE "DICTATORIAL," BUT REFUSED TO CHARACTERIZE EITHER KIM IL SUNG OR ERICH HOENECKER AS DICTATORS, INSTEAD CALLING THEM "SOCIALIST STATESMEN." HIS FINAL WORD ON DEMOCRACY IS THAT IT CONSECRATED "LIBERTY," BUT NOT EQUALITY. ANOTHER SYSTEM, NUNEZ TENORIO SAID,

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	DRL-04	G-00	NFAT-00	SAS-00	/019W		

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 CARACAS 002047

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SUBJECT: TAKING A LOOK AT THE MARXIST THEORIST BEHIND CHAVEZ
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WOULD BE MORE DESIRABLE.

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